



THE NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

Reviewing Stand

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That Man John L. Lewis

A radio discussion over WGN and the Mutual Broadcasting System

SAUL ALINSKY

Sociologist; Author, "John L. Lewis"

ELMO HOHMAN

Professor of Economics, Northwestern University

SELIG PERLMAN

Professor of Economics, University of Wisconsin
Author, "A Theory of the Labor Movement"

Moderator: LEIGHTON BORIN

Director, The Reviewing Stand

Broadcast continuously since 1934 by Northwestern University



THE REVIEWING STAND is a weekly radio forum presented by Northwestern University. The program was first broadcast by Station WGN, Chicago, October 14, 1934. It has been on the air continuously since that time, originating in the WGN studios, and, since 1935, carried by the stations of the Mutual Broadcasting System. THE REVIEWING STAND presents members of the Northwestern University faculty and distinguished guests from business, government, education, and the press in round table discussions of contemporary problems—the questions that are in the news. The program is under the direction of James H. McBurney, Dean of the School of Speech, Northwestern University and Miss Myrtle Stahl, Director of Educational Programs, WGN, Chicago.

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That Man John L. Lewis

MR. BORIN: That man John L. Lewis!

MR. HOHMAN: John L. Lewis has probably had a greater effect upon our national economy than any other American labor leader, past or present.

MR. PERLMAN: Lewis is the outstanding personal phenomenon not only in American labor but perhaps in all labor.

MR. ALINSKY: I have found that the key to this stormy enigma is to be found in coal and the men who mine it.

* * *

'Front Page Occupant'

MR. BORIN: *U.S. ACTS TO STOP LEWIS*. From 1919 to 1949 this newspaper headline has been seen so frequently that John L. Lewis has been called "the most constant occupant of America's front pages." For thirty years the miners' chief has been battered by the press, the public and the government. Yet today he remains one of the most powerful and most feared men in America. At the same time he is perhaps one of the least understood figures of our time—a unique phenomenon. He frequently does the unusual, always the unexpected. When asked at one time to explain himself, Lewis replied, "If you wish to understand me, just remember that I am a coal miner."

Hohman, does this kind of explanation help us in understanding John L. Lewis?

MR. HOHMAN: It not only helps us but it is inevitable because the working conditions in the mining industry are so far away from those in ordinary factory work that in many respects they are completely unique. You find things such as the background of violence, the darkness of working underground, the very heavy element of danger involved, about which Alinsky knows more than I.

MR. ALINSKY: Well, Hohman, you are right about the coal industry. The miner constantly flirts with death. He

has death above him, below him, about him in the passages, and, as he well knows, the chances are only eight to one that he is going to come out alive or uninjured at the end of a working day.

MR. HOHMAN: It always seemed to me that the fact of working underground in darkness with the terrifically heavy physical labor involved is unique. There are probably few workers who spend as much sheer muscular energy as the miner on the job, and that plus the darkness, plus the danger, plus the terrifically high accident rate creates a type of work which really has no counterpart in factory work at all.

MR. PERLMAN: Mr. Alinsky, would you say that living in isolated communities makes the miners insulated from the rest of the country and turns them into sort of a nation within a nation?

Hazardous Occupation

MR. ALINSKY: You have really fired two questions at me here. Suppose I take up Hohman's first. Hohman implied that he couldn't understand why the miners would continue in this kind of an extremely hazardous, and what you might call brutal occupation. Why the miner does is a sorry commentary on our present industrial civilization, for the miner is one of those unique individuals who actually finds that he produces his entire product. He is not out on an assembly line as an anonymous figure just tightening a screw or putting in a bolt. The coal that comes out of his hands is pretty much the coal that goes into your furnace.

MR. HOHMAN: That is, he has what the average factory worker so often misses, namely a sense of creation about his work, going at the job from beginning to end.

MR. ALINSKY: An independence . . .

MR. HOHMAN: Yes.

MR. ALINSKY: . . . the kind of independence you find in Lewis.

Now Professor Perlman's point is extremely important in understanding Lewis and why the miners faced up to the entire nation. For instance, in time of war they struck four times. The fact is that the miners are not only alone down in the mine, they are alone when they come out of the mine, they are alone in isolated little towns, little mining camps, and they feel not only alone, but they feel also that the entire world is against them.

MR. BORIN: It seems inevitable then that we ask this question: Why or how has Lewis utilized these conditions in organizing the miners? Alinsky, do you want to answer that one?

MR. ALINSKY: That question demands a long and involved answer. But let me say briefly, all of these elements are powerful unifying factors in keeping the miners together as one family, or say army.

Place in Labor Movement

MR. BORIN: It seems that explaining Lewis here is quite a challenge, isn't it gentlemen? Some experts have chosen to do it by placing him in the context of the labor movement. Perlman, how does Lewis look when you place him before the backdrop of a developing labor movement here in America?

MR. PERLMAN: I would say in response to your question that Lewis certainly covers a good deal of the backdrop by his own dimension. In other words, the backdrop is the essential long development of the American labor movement which as a movement is quite unique, quite different from the labor movements not only of Eastern Europe but of the West European countries as well. The American labor movement is not a movement that challenges the freedom of enterprise or the capitalist system. It is a labor movement that concentrates on control of jobs.

MR. BORIN: Perlman, you have called Lewis the George Washington of the labor movement. Do you mean he has

been the most important leader in the rise of American unionism?

MR. PERLMAN: I would say that John L. Lewis moved the American labor movement off the dead center which needed to be done some twelve or fifteen years ago and he did it due to qualities which are exclusively his own.

I would put it this way: The greatest service to American labor came in the winter of 1936 and 1937. John L. Lewis was the only one who possessed the indispensable capacity to dramatize in his own person that the hour of labor's redemption had arrived. By the early months of 1937 when the auto workers "sat down" Lewis was the "George Washington of American labor." Not many of his contemporaries will forget how the press and the radio issued bulletins on his journey to Detroit to meet the top men of General Motors.

MR. HOHMAN: Now I suppose you are talking about the origin of the C.I.O.?

Origin of Unionism

MR. PERLMAN: I am thinking very decidedly of the origin of the C.I.O. which, after all, was connected with the rise of unionism in the mass production industries. I should also say that it is hard to conceive of the rise of American mass production unionism without the confidence of victory radiating from Lewis's personality and self assurance.

MR. ALINSKY: I am very much interested in Professor Perlman's statement, because to most students of the labor movement Professor Perlman—and it is not because we are sitting next to each other that I am saying this—is regarded as the dean of American labor historians. Unfortunately today, and I assume Professor Perlman is familiar with it, there is a deliberate attempt because of the intense hatred against Lewis, to rewrite histories, and you find many labor histories actually describing the story of the C.I.O. with no mention of Lewis except that he happened to be around the premises some place.

MR. PERLMAN: They remind me very much of those present-day historians in the Soviet Union that manage to tell the tale of 1918 without mentioning Trotsky! [Laughter]

MR. BORIN: We have been talking a great deal about the organization of unionism in general. I would like to ask the question, what specific gains has Lewis made for his miners?

MR. ALINSKY: His gains have been very extraordinary. Within twelve years from being practically at the bottom of the heap of the eighteen major American industries, he has brought the miners right up to the top. He has given them a welfare fund which actually, if the American public were to understand it, is as comprehensive as British Social Security. It doesn't involve just pensions—they are one minor factor in this. He has made changes in the working conditions. But above all, and what the public does not understand, Lewis has recognized that the only way the coal miner can have steady work relatively speaking, the only way the coal miner can have some degree of economic security, is to have the coal industry operating on an efficient basis, and Lewis's contribution to the organization of the coal industry has been just as much as his contribution to the organization of the miners.

Welfare Fund

MR. HOHMAN: Perhaps we might bring out here that the welfare fund which has been so much criticized is probably more closely justified for miners than for any other group because of the heavy accident rate and the bad conditions in the mines. They often live in isolated communities. Second, the very heavy proportion of strikes is mitigated to some extent by the fact that mining has always had a very short working year, and to a large degree many of the days represented by his strikes would not represent actual working days—at least they haven't in the past.

MR. ALINSKY: You are absolutely right on both points.

MR. BORIN: In our discussion here, you gentlemen quite frequently use the phrase, "The public does not understand." Since our broadcast was announced we have received numerous letters requesting that we ask you specific questions about Mr. Lewis. Perhaps these questions provide another approach in our attempt to understand him. Certainly it is the approach exploited by the psychologist and the sociologist. I am going to put you men on the spot by asking you the questions most frequently raised by the man on the street about Lewis, the man. Alinsky, you are a personal friend of Lewis, let me ask you this first question . . .

MR. ALINSKY: Those are dangerous words these days!

MR. BORIN: Number one: What motivates John L. Lewis?

MR. ALINSKY: If I were a newspaper columnist or one of these crystal ball gazers that also have newspaper columns, I could give you a simple answer. But what motivates Perlman? What motivates Hohman? What motivates me? I don't know. I can say this: that in trying to get just a clue to the motivation you could say that Lewis is driven to do something for the coal miners. He is also, let's say, driven by a desire for personal power. But where his hunger for power stops, and the desire to help the miners comes in is a question that is impossible to answer. Can you say whether a fellow wants to be President of the United States because he wants to be President or because he wants to help the country?

'Interest in Personal Power'

MR. HOHMAN: But the average man on the street, I have no doubt, believes that John L. Lewis has an abnormal interest in personal power. Would you agree with that?

MR. ALINSKY: I think the average man on the street thinks that John L. Lewis has an abnormal desire for everything evil.

MR. BORIN: Here's question number two. Why does he do the unpredictable? In other words, what is his strategy?

MR. PERLMAN: I find it easiest, perhaps, to understand Lewis's strategy in the terms of the strategy of the great Napoleon. I am now praising Lewis. Later on I will be on the other side of the fence. Mr. Lewis is a military strategist of extraordinary ability. He has a sharp eye for the weak spots in his enemies' front, the capacity to do the unpredictable and to figure out moves to confound the opponent. He has the air of a man of destiny and one who is certain of victory. He is a conglomerate of traits.

MR. BORIN: Here's another question frequently asked by the man on the street. Is Lewis really a rough, tough individual in his personal life? Alinsky, can you tell us about that?

MR. ALINSKY: That's an interesting thing because the answer is exactly to the contrary. Lewis personally is a warm, genial, laughing person. My own resentment towards his personal manner is that he is constantly reciting humorous situations not only among us but on himself, and every time he laughs or cracks a joke he will emphasize it by poking his finger jauntily into your abdomen. I have left Lewis at times when my stomach has been bruised.

MR. BORIN: Here is another question we received frequently in the mail. How does he get by with telling everyone off?

'Unusual Traits'

MR. HOHMAN: I should say because of what he is and what his miners are. As Perlman has just brought out, he has an unusual combination of imagination, strategy, and emotion. He is a fast thinker and at the same time a very careful thinker. But most of all he leads a body of men who because of the danger of their work, because of the isolation of their lives, because of their background of

exploitation, are prepared to follow him and to present an unusual indifference to public opinion.

MR. ALINSKY: I would like to comment on that, too. One thing that should be understood about Lewis is that he never moves without thinking through the probabilities and possibilities of what he is going to do after this move. Even the most spontaneous, seemingly unpremeditated action is coldly calculated and planned months ahead of time.

MR. PERLMAN: That is a very valuable contribution you have made, Alinsky. I think that Lewis gets by with telling everyone off because in substance he is a sort of guardian or custodian of the basic interests of the coal mining industry. The coal operators probably don't like the tongue lashings he gives them, but perhaps they understand it is a part of the scenery, and they are grateful for a man who safeguards the interests of the industry and makes it impossible to witness a return of cut-throat competition.

MR. ALINSKY: They are quite some tongue-lashings, too, aren't they, Perlman?

MR. PERLMAN: I suppose that if you had made up your mind that there was a certain individual who was a tongue-lasher, and then you made up your mind that you wouldn't be offended by him, his words seem like rain drops.

MR. ALINSKY: But nobody seems to be able to take it as "rain drops."

MR. BORIN: Here is perhaps the most frequently asked question about Lewis, the man. How has he achieved the extreme loyalty of the miners?

Miners' Loyalty

MR. PERLMAN: I would say this is the essence of the phenomenon of unionism. We see now as we watch the development of the whole world labor movement that its strongest binding factor is not what the intellectual considers of the greatest importance, namely socialism or non-socialism, but the trade-union movement is in itself

a most effective binder. There is a feeling that those whose jobs come out of the same job territory must stick together in order to protect their interests and to raise themselves to a higher level in the social scale. I have always drawn the parallel between unionism and Nazism. That is where many people don't understand the hardness of that celebrated entity which we call a union. Unfortunately in the year 1943, President Roosevelt likewise showed a deficient understanding of that phenomenon or else he wouldn't have been on the radio.

MR. HOHMAN: Would you say the past loyalty of his miners is being threatened today, that he has less than he had formerly?

MR. ALINSKY: I would say, and I suspect that Perlman would agree with me, that he has that loyalty in full measure.

MR. PERLMAN: Absolutely. I don't think the loyalty of a nation to its leaders when the nation is at war is apt to suffer from the superhostility on the part of the other nations to him as a leader of that nation.

Defy Authority?

MR. BORIN: Lewis, in achieving this loyalty, has defied Presidents and Congress and the general public. Doesn't this kind of action undermine the status of recognized authority in this country, Alinsky?

MR. ALINSKY: Well, as I suspect from the newspaper reactions to the statement I made in my book, I have a different feeling on this point than other people have. To me it seems to be an almost indispensable ingredient of the democratic process—call it a leveling element. Every so often, every generation or two generations, a person with sufficient power should get up on his hind legs and look at the President of the United States, look at the Supreme Court, and look at the Congress, and say, "Aw nuts!" When that happens it keeps the Congress and the President and the Su-

preme Court from becoming embalmed in its feelings of absolute authority—and it's a good thing for the democratic process.

MR. HOHMAN: But isn't that line of argument subject to the very serious criticism that, now and then, it's all right for one person to defy authority but if he succeeds it may give ideas to other persons, and if hundreds or thousands of persons tried to do the same thing, our democratic process would be seriously threatened rather than strengthened.

MR. ALINSKY: But unfortunately everything that is worth while always carries with it an element of danger.

Effect on Labor Movement

MR. PERLMAN: I am not too worried about the American community going to pot because of a man like Lewis throwing his weight about because our American society is a pretty well balanced structure. But I have another concern, and here begins an expression of my typical attitude toward Lewis. My concern is with the effects of Lewis's action on the position of the whole labor movement in the American community. The American community, and especially the middle-class group, tends to lump all labor, and a picturesque personality like Lewis invariably becomes the stereotype. And Lewis has shown a considerable indifference and callousness to the effect of his activity on the rest of the labor movement. His combativeness and self-dramatization disregard the costs to the American labor movement and also display a lack of understanding of the American scene.

The American community responds to pressures, and a rising new group such as labor has a chance to become a participant in shaping high policy. But labor's pattern is still an alien pattern to the middle-class groups.

MR. HOHMAN: But, wouldn't you say, Perlman, that Lewis' callousness and ruthlessness, for which he gets a great deal of blame from public opinion, is due partly to the fact that he has to protect his position as president of

the United Mine Workers because past presidents have had a very rough row to hoe? They have been put out of office in a way he would not allow in his own case. And secondly, he has had a very turbulent industry, and to some extent economically a lame duck industry to deal with, so that only a man who cut through without regard to anybody else could get the results he wanted.

'Success Through Power'

MR. ALINSKY: Let me jump on Perlman, too, from the point of view of the public that he is talking about. Lewis from long and bitter experience has reached the conclusion—whether it is right or wrong is unimportant, the thing is that it is the way he feels—that in the last analysis anything that is to be obtained will be gained solely and purely through power. This is practically a Marxian concept.

Now he has from time to time tried to deal on a non-power basis . . . if you study his early years . . . and every time he has done that he has always been defeated. He feels that as far as being concerned about the middle class that actually their opinion is determined by the press, and no matter what he does the press will be opposed to him.

MR. PERLMAN: I view the situation not from the standpoint of the middle class but I view it from the standpoint of the weaker groups in the labor movement who are made to pay, by the public and by the press and by the government, the price of Lewis's aggressiveness.

MR. ALINSKY: I am going to break in here because the alternative to what you are saying is that Lewis should be concerned with the weaker groups, and it would be just like saying that a bright student in a classroom should go along with the retarded pupils.

MR. HOHMAN: May I break in also by pointing out that even if one grants that he is concerned with naked power, the use of public opinion, or the manipulation of public opinion, if you

please, is one of the important methods to achieve power; and I think Lewis is subject to criticism for having neglected something which it would be difficult for him to manipulate, perhaps, but which in the end might prove to be a real asset to him. He might take the trouble to explain to the public the conditions which he is trying to correct among his miners.

'Press Against Him'

MR. ALINSKY: Let's be realistic about it. How is he going to take the trouble? I would like to throw the question to Perlman. He goes into a conflict situation. The press is solidly united against him. Let me repeat, be realistic about it. The press is not particularly sympathetic to labor. You try to get a statement in for labor against capital and you find yourself pretty much in a labyrinth, a blind alley. And Lewis knows this!

MR. PERLMAN: I would say Lewis doesn't need to worry about the will to victory on the part of his own miners. He can take that for granted. Likewise he doesn't need to worry about his leadership, because a fighting leader always has the army behind him. But it is an unfortunate situation when you find that the Congress of the United States passes laws—it has passed several laws—just to restrict one man. The restrictive anti-union legislation since 1943 has been legislation against John L. Lewis. The Smith-Connally Act and most of the Taft-Hartley Act are measures against him.

MR. ALINSKY: Perlman, do you really think that legislation like the Taft-Hartley Act would not have been passed anyway? Don't you think Lewis is being made a butt for all of this? It might have been a little later but it would have come.

MR. PERLMAN: I would say if Lewis hadn't been so much concerned with self-dramatization, with the appearance as well as the substance of power, that perhaps after the election of

1948 the antilabor forces wouldn't have succeeded as well as they did in closing in on labor again.

MR. HOHMAN: Speaking again in realistic terms, couldn't one say that it is quite possible that a specific number of votes were changed in connection with the Taft-Hartley Act by the fact that certain legislators thought of the labor movement in terms of the personification of John L. Lewis?

MR. ALINSKY: I think that would reflect more on the Congress of the United States than on Lewis.

MR. HOHMAN: That's quite probable.

MR. PERLMAN: Being realistic in that regard we have got to take things as they are.

MR. ALINSKY: Do you agree with me?

MR. PERLMAN: I don't agree with you, nor do I disagree.

'Public Opinion a Force'

MR. BORIN: I think, however, gentlemen, that you both agree that public opinion has been an effective force in this conflict. I would like to go on and ask this question: Is Lewis digging his own grave by forcing our economy to turn to other sources of power? Perhaps here is another counter measure which is being used against the man.

MR. ALINSKY: I suppose the answer is like the answer to so many questions: yes and no. The general feeling is that by these constant and long coal strikes consumers are beginning to turn to other fuels. The most pointed example on that is the use of Diesel engines on the railroads and the use of oil for home heating. However, what is Lewis to do in that situation? He has to fight for the welfare of his own miners, and if he were to be concerned about the dangers to the whole coal industry he would be pretty much curtailed. I want to make one

other point here, and that is that you now have processes being developed in Pittsburgh and in other major industrial sections where coal is being liquefied into oil so that it will be sold on the market at a price cheaper than natural oil.

A Replacement?

MR. HOHMAN: In terms of digging his own grave possibly, not only in terms of the industry but in terms of his personal ability, I think there is one other point that should be brought out, namely, that he has shown a striking lack of capacity to work with other persons except in terms of complete domination over them, and consequently he has raised very few lieutenants to take his place.

MR. BORIN: We have been spending a good deal of time on Lewis's past. We have been talking about him in the present coal situation. I am wondering what is going to happen after the holidays in the current coal crisis.

MR. ALINSKY: I will have to give you the same answer on that that I did before. You would have to be a crystal ball gazer, and no one knows except Lewis. I have full confidence that Lewis knows exactly where he is going. He is following his jabbing strategy by wearing down the nerves of the President, the Congress and all other authorities. I think he's going to come out of this into a full-blown strike if he doesn't completely break the united front of the coal operators, which according to the morning papers he has already done with the operators of Eastern Kentucky. Now, if he doesn't do that, you will have a full-blown strike. You will have an injunction, which is really a Taft-Hartley injunction, and then you will have a contempt of court, a million dollar fine—and Lewis will win out as he has before.



Suggested Readings



Compiled by Barbara Wynn, Assistant,
Reference Department, Deering
Library, Northwestern University



ALINSKY, SAUL. *John L. Lewis*. New York, Putnam, 1949.

Dramatic, unauthorized biography written from personal acquaintance and Lewis's own files.

BAIRD, A. CRAIG. *Representative American Speeches: 1945-1946*. Reference shelf, Vol. 19 No. 4, pp 180-195. New York, Wilson, 1946.

Contains a speech by Lewis on the demands of the UMW for wage increases and an employer-subsidized welfare fund.

MILLS, CHARLES WRIGHT and SCHNEIDER, HELEN. *New Men of Power; America's Labor Leaders*. New York, Harcourt, 1948.

Includes an appraisal of Lewis.

PERLMAN, SELIG. *A Theory of the Labor Movement*. New York, Macmillan, 1928.

"Valuable contribution to the literature of trade-unionism."

SULZBERGER, CYRUS LEO. *Sit Down with John L. Lewis*. New York, Random House, 1938.

The sympathetic account of a United Press reporter who covered Lewis's activities during the years which witnessed his rise to fame.

WECHSLER, JAMES ARTHUR. *Labor Baron; a Portrait of John L. Lewis*. New York, Monow, 1944.

Charges that "Lewis is primarily a power politician, . . . totally out of place in a democracy—an autocrat who, at times, has been fortunate enough to ride the tide of great social movements to a prominence far beyond his mental power to analyze or appreciate."

American Mercury 64:421-7, Ap., '47. "How Miners Live." A. H. RASKIN.

"Mr. Lewis, for all his posturing and trumpeting, still lives in the kindergarten days of unionism. He is wedded to the philosophy of more pay for less work, and he regards that as the fundamental if not the sole, function of the United Mine Workers."

American Mercury 64:526-33, My., '47. "Lewis: Robber Baron of Labor." W. CHASAN.

Maintains that Lewis has pursued power in the form of a labor empire as unrelentingly as Jay Gould pursued it in railroads, and with the same arrested sense of social responsibility.

Contemporary Review 171:11-15, Ja., '47. "John L. Lewis: Dictator." S. K. RATCLIFFE.

An extremely unsympathetic resume of Lewis's career.

Fortune 40:70-2, O., '49. "Coal vs. the People; Lewis Maintains He Is Protecting Owners as well as Miners."

Contends that Lewis has presented the nation with what is perhaps the most serious, and certainly the most difficult, monopoly problem it has ever faced.

Fortune 28:106-9+, S., '43. "Special Case of John L. Lewis; His Philosophy of Expedience Has Immediate and Long-term Dangers." J. CHAMBERLAIN.

Tells how Lewis has already "put his massive imprint on the U.S. social structure," and discusses the future implications of his economic philosophy.

Forum 107:198-203, Mr., '47. "John L. Lewis." C. E. WARNE.

Declares that any verdict concerning Lewis cannot class him as the master-mind of American labor, nor as the expression of the progressive forces of labor.

Forum 97:131-7, Mr., '37. "John L. Lewis' Push to Power." LOUIS ADAMIC.

Although admiring Lewis, the author points out that his values are mainly quantitative rather than qualitative, material, rather than spiritual. It is these intellectual and spiritual limitations which make him a dangerous man.

Nation 143:121-24, Ag. 1, '36. "John L. Lewis: Portrait of a Realist." BENJAMIN STOLBERG.

Declares that Lewis's ideas derive entirely from the objective situation. A "militant opportunist" in the best sense of the word, "he is primarily interested in the next step, but that step he takes clearly, definitely, ruthlessly, and always in the direction in which he wants to go."

New Republic 116:22-6, Ap. 14, '47. "Follow the Leader." D. KRAMER.

A colorful description of "Old John" and his miners. Declares that Lewis is the UMW, and that his death could destroy the union which, for almost half a century, was the vanguard of American labor.

New Republic 121:5-7, N. 28, '49. "The Need for a National Coal Policy."

While labor leaders such as Reuther and Murray have grown with changing conditions, Lewis has not. He has retained his beliefs that democracy is intolerable in a union, and that force remains the one means of settling disputes.

New York Times Magazine p 12+, F. 10, '46. "Warwick of the House of Labor." L. STARK.

A vivid description of Lewis's personality.

Readers Digest 44:5-9, Mr., '44. "Mystery of John L. Lewis." V. RIESEL and P. SANN.

Contents that Lewis's ruthlessness, his eloquence, and the fact that he is a man of one idea, have made him the greatest figure in American labor.

Saturday Evening Post 221:26-7+, Ja. 15, '49. "What the Miners Say About John L. Lewis." J. B. MARTIN.

The men who dig coal often ridicule and denounce the big boss of the UMW, but they turn fiercely on any outsider who criticizes him. This first-hand report tells why.

United States News 24:22-3, Ap. 23, '48. "Cost to U.S. of Lewis' Tactics."

Points out that Lewis has been a "thorn in the side of every President from Woodrow Wilson to Harry Truman."

United States News 26:42-3, Dec. 2, '49. "Mr. Lewis's Strategy Misfires."

Declares that Lewis, in the present coal crisis, is facing the worst setback he's had in years.

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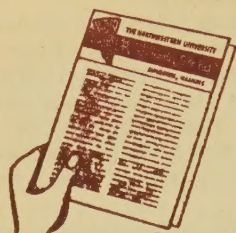
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| 9. How Should We Educate for Business and Industry? | 19. Should the President Be Elected By a Direct Vote of the People? |
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| | 21. What Should the Government Do for the Aged? |

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